

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

BIRTH CUSTOMS

162 Havasupai families' averaging 4.7 persons, include roughly as
582 many children as our own. Girls marry soon after reaching maturity
836 and conception soon follows. Intercourse is not uncommon prior to this
848 time, but illegitimate births are said to be extremely rare. Yet in at
least one instance such a birth did not hinder subsequent marriage.

No preference is expressed for either sex, nor do they claim to control
842 the sex of the unborn child. However, by way of forecast, someone
[187] visiting the prospective mother will make string-figures which may
resemble either a boy or girl.

For a month before the birth the woman and her husband must re-
843 frain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These
746 taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease.
Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time
she must use a stick to scratch herself.

843 The child will be left-handed if the woman uses that hand much.
827 Should she hear a hawk (*adjada*) cry, her child will have the hawk's
753 spirit, which will cause it to sicken.

When a woman thinks delivery near, she calls her relatives. In one
844 case observed, a young girl bearing her first child was closely watched,
accompanying her mother everywhere. The mother assists the delivery,
squatting behind the seated woman, clasping her hands above the ab-
domen and pressing downward. As this manipulation nears success, a
husband, father, or brother is called on to assist with pressure applied
to the front and sides. A hole has been dug in front of the woman to
receive the child, in which a blanket has been folded in nest-like form.
The umbilical cord is immediately squeezed and tied tightly an inch from
the body, and then cut. Pressure is applied to the abdomen to cause the
ejection of the placenta. This is buried deeply so that animals cannot
eat it, for should they do so, the woman would become barren. The
woman then stands erect to have a broad woven Hopi belt bound tightly
around her abdomen in order to force out the fluids. Should this be
neglected, they will flow into the top of the womb, causing death. Her
mother washes the woman's hair and body with soapweed lather. Her
husband has prepared a hole filled with hot stones outside of the house,
or within it if it is winter. A bed of damp sand covered with old clothes is
prepared on this; the woman lies face down, and is completely covered
with blankets. The purpose of this is to continue the flow by heating

the abdomen, and to this end her mother continues to press it. She⁸⁴⁴ is given a little soup, prepared from dry corn, if she wants it. This procedure is repeated on the three subsequent nights. Her husband, too, bathes four times. Sometimes delivery is difficult, labor lasting three days or even four. Then everyone is told to come and advise what course to take. A woman who has a good delivery returns to her tasks⁸⁴⁶ after one night; if it has been difficult she can work after four days. Her husband, however, is not prohibited from working.

Twin births are rare and multiple births have never been heard⁸⁴⁵ of. Monsters are unknown. Three instances of twin births were recalled by my old informant: Pakiadagó'ová, now a man of sixty; twin sisters in the past generation; and a pair now dead, were born to a young woman.¹

Twins (*huwgdldja*) differ from other children only in the sympathetic bond that unites them. If one sickens and dies, the other will also.² Pakiadagó'ová's twin sister was destroyed at birth; wrapped in a blanket and buried. To indicate the efficacy of the custom, my informant pointed out that the survivor has lived to be an old man. In this case he did not know which twin was born first, nor why the girl was selected. It is believed that twins are due to the circumstance that the pregnant woman, before the foetus is well-developed, lies first on one side, then turns quickly on the other, thus splitting the "fluid" in two parts. Intercourse during pregnancy does not cause this, yet such relations are^[843] improper.

The old women attendants mould the head and face of the new-born^[844] child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, pinch up the bridge⁸⁵⁶ of the nose, pull down the ears, press up the hard palate, and rub the thumb along the gums. They repeat this whenever the baby is washed, straightening the body and limbs, and unclenching the fists. No^[304] intentional deformation is practised. Occipital flattening occurs but rarely, and that little is moderate and presumably accidental.³

Contraceptive devices are unknown. Some women are barren⁸⁴² (*pik'igídadldj*, barren woman—used contemptuously); it is not known why. One does not pray for children, but a young girl who is barren may drink a decoction of ground abalone shell in water. The shell^[439] (*hólkaf'ópá*) is obtained through the Mohave. The lines on it represent the ocean waves.

¹The ratio of twin births among whites is 1:20.1 or 93.1 (Zelansky, 202). If the death rate for twins is no greater than for others, we would expect to find only one or two living in a population of 178.

²A Paviotse belief (Lowe, G.), 205.

³Hrdlicka, G., 63 records one instance among twenty-five individuals.

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timately, so when two young people fell in love, with the parents' consent they set up housekeeping, usually with the girl's family.

Like Jacob of old, the boy became a member of the household, serving or working with his father-in-law. With the arrival of children, the young couple established their own home, unless the girl's parents were old and needed their help.

Life in a Havasupai home with its unfathomable undercurrents was even more interesting than the mysteries hidden in the canyon walls. These people lived close to the earth; the soil was warm and friendly, giving life to the sustenance by which they survived. It was the table from which they ate, the chairs on which they lounged; on it they built their cooking fires. They liked the feel of the familiar earth beneath their feet as they walked, and under their bodies at night. To it, as to the stones and water, they ascribed a living force. Just why they paid tribute to inanimate things instead of to the power that created them, I failed to understand. But I had no difficulty in understanding why they hedged themselves about with superstitions. Hadn't I, when a child, broken a mirror and been told that certainly bad luck would follow? Why had my race become subservient to this and other superstitions as senseless as those that dominated the lives of the Indians? I have never learned the answer. But I was reminded of some of the latter at a home where a young mother and grandmother were caring for a new baby.

Happy chatter and laughter greeted me as I approached the open doorway of a half-dugout, dark within, but clean and neat. A girl of about fourteen, sitting on a blanket on the dirt floor, held a baby in her arms. An older woman, squatting near by, gave the baby a gentle pat and, glancing up at me, asked, "Papoose, you think good?"

"Very good," I assured the grandmother, "and very pretty. A perfect little girl." The mother didn't impress me as being a person who would give much thought to superstitions or taboos but if she hadn't observed them, how could she account for a perfect baby? She knew taboos, the older women had seen to that,

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843 so she must have remembered, the last few weeks before the baby came, to use a stick, not her fingers, to scratch her body. Somehow, she must have avoided hearing the cry of certain wild animals or the creature's spirit would have entered her child, causing it harm. There were other restrictions, but there in that close room I couldn't recall them, neither could I imagine this carefree young mother keeping them in mind.

304 The baby slept quietly, evidently feeling no pain from her recently pierced ears. According to tribal custom, the grandmother had pierced the ears in several places with a sharp thorn, inserting a thread to keep the wounds open, and rubbing in deer fat to prevent infection. When the little girl was old enough those ears would dangle bright strings of beads, numerous silver ornaments, or bright pieces of wood.

845 She was such a cunning little thing that I was relieved to learn she was not a twin. There was an old superstition that the souls of twins were in such close sympathy that whatever happened to one must, of necessity, happen to the other. Thus, if one suffered an accident, sickness or death, the other could not escape the same fate. For this reason, one twin was sometimes destroyed at birth. If the grandmother still clung to this superstition, and there had been a twin brother, it would have been her duty to dispose of the girl in order to free the boy of the dual handicap. For among a primitive people, even though men outnumbered the women, the girl would have stood small chance.

854 A cradleboard, padded with soft cloths, leaned against the wall. The grandmother laid it across her lap, put a blanket on it, then arranged the baby, hands snugly at its sides, body and legs straight. Wrapping the blanket about the infant, she bound her firmly in place. When strong enough to crawl, the child would

856 be released from this confinement and allowed to propel herself about in the manner of all normal children, until she learned to walk. And this stage of development would put to the test the parents' observance of still another superstition. If either had killed a snake in recent months, their baby might be doomed to

may be used, but whichever one is chosen is used both for body paint and for face designs. However, one woman insisted that ochre paint only was used at the menses, and that the red opuntia dye was reserved as a treatment for sunburn and the removal of freckles. In the latter connection it was explained that freckles may be caused by a female fetus during pregnancy and can be remedied by the above treatment. (One informant thought that her fellow tribeswomen were in error in their belief that sex of a child could be foretold by the appearance of such freckles, inasmuch as she herself had seen them appear during a pregnancy which resulted in birth of a boy.)

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Designs on a girl's face may consist of four vertical lines on each side of her nose, extending from her forehead to her jaw, the innermost lines passing the outer corners of her eyes. Vertical lines may be painted on a girl's cheeks, with a continuous line extending from her hairline down her nose to her chin. One pattern started with a line at the inner corners of the eyes extending outward across the cheeks, the smoothing motion used in executing this supposedly warding off wrinkles. These, or other facial designs used, are said to have no significance other than that customarily associated with the number four which is conspicuous in any grouping of lines or dots used. The body may be painted red completely from neck to foot, or lines may be drawn on arms from shoulder to wrist and on the front of thighs to the knee.

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While it was stated that a menstruating girl should rise before sunup for her ceremonial washing and painting so she will be ready to run at sunrise, a discrepancy appears in that she is said to dry her hair in the sun. This suggests that, in practice, little attention is paid to the time certain actions should be performed, or to their sequence.

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Running at Sunset and Sundown

At sunrise, a pubescent girl, already bathed, shampooed, painted, and attired in her puberty dress, runs toward the sunrise, and at sundown she runs toward the west to insure that she will be quick and unfailing in her work. As she runs she carries a slow match of cedar bark with which she touches her knees and elbows to prevent rheumatism in old age. On the three succeeding days, a girl is bathed, her hair is shampooed, and her body paint and face designs are reapplied. As on the first day, she runs to the east at dawn and to the west at sundown. Following this routine she gathers a bundle of wood and carries it to the camp of some woman who is exemplary in working so that she may attain this ideal.

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Meanwhile, a girl's father has dug a shallow pit and constructed a temporary brush shade over it a short distance from the home camp. In the pit, which is about 4 ft. long and 1 ft. deep, a layer of rocks is placed with firewood. After being heated about an hour, the rocks are covered with earth and several layers of blankets to make a bed. When the girl has performed

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CHAPTER V

MOTHERHOOD

Conception and Pregnancy

843 In earlier days, women counted their menstrual periods and calculated the length of pregnancy by changes of the moon. Now, of course, reference is made to calendar months. If a woman misses menstruation once she suspects pregnancy, and a second interruption is considered by her almost a positive indication.

842 The Havasupai recognize intercourse as the cause of pregnancy. Al-
826 though a few individuals believe conception is possible after a single act, popular opinion holds that sexual relations for a few months, or perhaps longer, are necessary. Conception is thought to occur when the fluid discharge of a male mixes with blood contained in a sac in the lower abdomen of a female. Blood is there present at certain times which are especially favorable, or dangerous, as fertility periods. Perhaps this notion accounts for the belief that conception will occur invariably if intercourse takes place during menstruation.

843 An old woman explained carefully that during the first month or so of
826 pregnancy, a baby is merely a formless mass or concentration of blood, but in some way repeated discharges of semen cause it to grow and look like a human. After fetal growth begins, further semen is unnecessary to normal development. "It grows by itself like a plant once it gets started," she said. However, another informant thought that a couple ought to have intercourse regularly during pregnancy "so the baby will grow good."

842 None of the women questioned could say whether a child's soul entered
774 its body before or at birth. One woman said, "A baby comes alive in two or three months when you feel it moving," but she was uncertain whether this had any connection with entrance of a soul. Nor does naming appear to have any relationship to acquisition of a soul.

842 There is no way to control the sex of an unborn child, but women fore-
tell it with a version of cat's cradle. Any pair of women can do this whether or not the expectant mother is present. Faith in the forecast is generally expressed, but informants admit that occasionally it is proved incorrect. As the string is changed from one pair of hands to the other it eventually assumes one of two characteristic patterns which are thought to resemble the genitals. The feminine symbol also is likened to a butterfly.

Sex of an unborn baby also is believed to be perceived by a small child of opposite sex from the fetus who betrays embarrassment in the presence

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842 of the pregnant woman by such gestures as covering the face with the hands.

[297] A remedy for barrenness, as related by one informant, was to drink the water in which a rat's nest, saturated with urine and feces, had been boiled.

Intercourse and Continence

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833 Spier (1928, 301) was told that sexual relations were improper during pregnancy. There is now some difference of opinion on the matter among informants. The majority assert that continence ought to be observed during the latter months of pregnancy, but they disagree on the time, setting it from one month to as much as five or six months before parturition.

One woman explained that intercourse at regular intervals should be continued during pregnancy to insure proper growth of the unborn child. She thought there was no reason to increase or decrease the frequency (she suggested alternate nights) which she believed to be about right for the well-being of both child and mother. All informants agreed that women formerly observed strict continence for about six months or longer following birth. While they thought it undesirable to conceive while one had a baby in arms and observed that this was a period of great fertility "because you still have blood in your stomach," they admitted that women of today generally relax the taboo after the blood discharge ceases, primarily being careful not to indulge themselves often enough for conception. One informant said, "Now women aren't so fussy. They say that this is an old time belief, and some keep the rule and others don't. They ought to wait two or three months but they don't all wait that long."

842 If a fetus is fertilized by semen from only one male, the child will resemble its father and mother. However, a child of multiple paternity will look like its mother or like no one in particular. It will not have "mixed features like all of the fathers," asserted one informant.

843 Symptoms attributed to pregnancy include temporary distaste for food, nausea, vomiting, desire to sleep more than usual, and craving for particular foods.

Powers of a Pregnant Woman

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789 During pregnancy a woman has special power over rain and is lucky at gambling. Two informants said that a pregnant woman could prevent rain but could not stop it after it started, but others maintained that she could also stop rain. She should hold some branches or other objects in her hands, raise her arms together, and move them apart in a sweeping gesture "to scatter the clouds and make them go away." She can accomplish the same end by placing an ax on the ground with the blade up. With either method she says, "Rain, go away," more a command than a prayer, al-

though she may explain to the elements, "Go over there on top (on the plateau) where those people need water. We don't need it down here. We have plenty." An informant told me that a heavy storm which swelled the river on the night of August 3, 1951, was halted in this manner by a neighbor who became alarmed at the proportions the flood was reaching and who happened to be pregnant at the time.

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By gesturing with only one hand, a pregnant woman can command rain to fall. (A person of either sex can bring rain during a dry period by singing a special song which everyone supposedly knows but which is considered dangerous because it may cause a great storm.)

In gambling, a pregnant woman brings luck to herself and her husband or to any other player she may stand behind. Informants added cautiously, "But if she doesn't win the first or second hand then she should quit. It shows that she won't win at that time."

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Taboos during Pregnancy

Spier (1928, 300) states that, "For a month before birth the woman and her husband must refrain from meat, and the woman alone from very salty foods. These taboos are relaxed a month after delivery, when hemorrhages cease. Should she ignore them there will be complications. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself."

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Informants now variously report that taboos apply during almost an entire pregnancy or as little as a month before birth and from eight or 10 days until several months afterward. They are generally agreed that women formerly observed taboos strictly while now only a few women are very careful and some scarcely heed restrictions. Informants were not agreed as to specific details of certain taboos, sometimes expressing opposite beliefs. For example, one woman reported that a pregnant woman "can't scratch her face or belly or it will make a scar. She can't use a stick either; that would also make a scar. A stick may be used during monthlies, but not during pregnancy." Most other women stated that a scratching stick was as properly used during pregnancy as during menstruation.

Meat taboos particularly emphasized tongue, kidney, intestines, lungs, liver, tenderloin, sausages or weiners. Tongue would cause the baby to chew its own tongue; kidney or tenderloin would cause the child to be deformed, birth would be difficult, or the mother would die at birth; intestines or weiners would tangle the umbilical cord about the baby and prevent its birth; rabbit or cow's head would cause the baby's lip "to be torn the way the cow and the rabbit look" (harelip); mountain lion would cause the baby's death by choking; deer or coyote killed by a mountain lion would cause the infant to have diarrhea. Coyote meat was not eaten at any time, and proximity of a coyote carcass or pelt was dangerous to small children as a cause of diarrhea, other illnesses, or death.

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843 of diarrhea, other illness, or death. While coyote skins were used as part
825 of a dance costume, they were kept where children could not approach or
touch them. Only people without children kept such skins in their houses.
"The coyote is like the medicine man--a dangerous personage. If you hear
[1787] a coyote howl near your camp, it means someone in your family will die
soon."

843 Other foods as well as certain acts are prohibited or proscribed for
262 one or both parents during the prenatal and postnatal periods.

If an expectant mother ate too many nuts (originally pinyons) her baby
would become so fat that birth would be difficult. Stealing food would cause
a baby to be born with a tooth already cut.

All meat is taboo to the mother for about 10 days after birth, or until
the postnatal flow of blood has ceased.

843 Both parents, but especially the mother, during pregnancy should avoid
looking at any human, animal, inanimate object, or picture that is mis-
shapen, grotesque, or in any way different from normal, as this could
cause the baby to have the same deformity. Modern interpretation discour-
ages an expectant mother from attending movies or reading comics to avoid
seeing "something awful." Danger to the baby is intensified if the mother
laughs at any strange sight she sees. She should glance away quickly and
forget it.

There are no restrictions on a man's use of specific tools, but he must
be careful in killing game not to break the legs, nor should he cut off the
legs of any animal lest his child be born a cripple. If a man kills a snake
or a lizard, his child may be a cripple or it may be weak, allow its head,
arms, and legs to hang limply, and be unable to walk. (At no time should
any person step on or over a snake or its tracks, as this may cause paraly-
sis. However, it is permissible to kill a snake, with the above exception
pertaining to pregnancy.)

843 Formerly women ate little or no salt before birth or afterward until a
263 baby stopped nursing. Too much salt eaten before birth would cause sores
in the baby's mouth, or afterward, would dry up the mother's milk. Salt
eaten before birth might also cause the mother's feet or the baby itself to
swell. Now women eat salt after birth if their baby is bottle fed. Little or
[826] no salt is fed to babies, as it might cause sore mouth or diarrhea. Salt
may also cause a woman's face to wrinkle prematurely.

[846] After the birth of her child, a woman drinks soup to bring milk and to
keep the supply constant. Formerly this was a thin corn gruel.

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry, which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin.

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A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly.

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A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races.

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A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available.

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Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician.

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Spier (1928, 277, 300) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development.

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Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end.

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THE HAVASUPAI

The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assistance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family until he breaks away to return to his father's house. 593

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family. 591 736

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watchomidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock. 624 [77] 623 626

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a son who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief. 624 [156]

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 177 595 592 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in-law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *mamadjidja*, your mother, *mamadjitais*, your father, or *humagatum*, your parents. The word *gingega* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them. 601 606

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of unfaithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws governing marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although some marry in three or four months. 177 586 768 765

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in complications at birth, it is believed. 262 243

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The old women attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle board in her arms rather than on her back. 852 854 [482]

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes

If, while traveling at night, a red fire was seen burning far off, it meant that someone was dying somewhere. If a snake came inside a wickiup, someone was sick or had had an accident and would probably die. A husband was not supposed to kill a snake when his wife was pregnant because the baby's legs and arms would be weak and limber.

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Should a man see a woman urinating or vice versa, one would die unless one said, "It's going to witch us. We don't want that."

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Shamans and Illness

Formerly, a shaman could give his own spirit to a relative, or it could be inherited after the shaman's death. If it was given during life, the new shaman had to remain with the older for four nights. The older shaman sang over him in order that his spirit would become familiar with the initiate and remain with him. A "spiritual string" passed between the mouths of the two men; this, a part of the spirit, was swallowed by the initiate. It enabled the shaman to see over his patients' bodies and was thought to aid in the diagnosis and destruction of the illness. The new shaman, notwithstanding, then had to dream to acquire his power through songs. Otherwise the spirit would not remain with him.

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Occasionally a man aspiring to be a shaman would pay for it. Dr. Tommy was paid a horse for his spirit.

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The "string" referred to above was used in the following way: The shaman would first remove it from his mouth and exhibit it to the spectators. Then he would appear to insert it through the patient's head or throat for the diagnosis. Other shamans diagnosed by placing their hands or elbows on the mouth of the patient. They withdrew the illness this way also. Some then swallowed the sickness, others blew it away. Most, however, sucked the afflicted area of the body.

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Rock Jones, a shaman when Spier (1928, 278) worked with the Havasupai, often treated a patient by singing and pressing his hands on various portions of the patient's body. He stood up except while singing or shaking his gourd rattle. During Spier's study, Rock Jones was a weather shaman but later learned curing from his brother.

Diagnosis also was accomplished by singing special songs, which would be answered by the shaman's spirit, often in the guise of an old woman or a small boy who were sky people. The female spirit is Gimni dem gen-wi va (old woman living by herself) and the boy is Hihman kai bi gen wi va (little boy living by himself). He was thought to be her grandson. The

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If one violated this prescription

it was thought blindness and excessive facial wrinkles would occur in middle age. Both sexes may avail themselves of the sweatlodge simultaneously, although it is customary for a woman to enter with her husband. Both sexes avoid exposing themselves unduly. Men wear loincloths, today fashioned from burlap; women wear slips, which they lower to the waist when inside. Children also are permitted to use the sweatlodge with adults, but not frequently. Smaller children usually are permitted its use only when ill, and a sick baby would be placed outside near the entry while someone inside sang for its recovery. Some of our informants believed, however, that in former times the sweatlodge was restricted to adults, especially those suffering from pain and soreness occasioned by hard work and long horseback or foot trips.

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Pregnant women and their husbands were forbidden the use of the lodge because of the belief that the fetus would sweat and "become ill," or that the infant would be born blind. Menstruating women and their husbands also were advised against taking sweatbaths although this taboo could be lifted if a woman suffered severe menstrual pain. On these occasions the woman would hold a small twig of "squaw-bush" [*Rhus trilobata*] in her mouth to prevent her from becoming wrinkled or blind in later years. Care was taken to keep the menstrual discharge from contaminating the structure. Should a man and woman using the lodge together be discovered in sex play, the structure would be abandoned.

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That participation in Havasupai sweatbaths is refreshing and relaxing has been noted by all ethnologists who have experienced them (see for example Spier, 1928, 337, fn. 2). Smithson and I, independently, noted the same reactions. Unaccustomed to the intense heat, which Smithson recorded as ranging between 118° and 157° F., we felt weakness and sensations of searing of the skin, lungs and nostrils. But once we were outside, and even while subsequently bathing in the river (water temperature 65° F.) a refreshing feeling ensued. [My own sweatbaths usually were taken following long, tiring horseback trips.]

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Death and Funeral Customs

When an individual was suspected of being near death, relatives tried to stay nearby. Sometimes a song, mätäbilyih, was sung, either by the ill person or by a close relative who had requested permission from the patient. This was a preparatory act and insured that the individual would "keep the song" after he had died. [This is no longer done and no one now remembers any of the songs.] Wailing also began before death.

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